

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-25 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AEC-11 OIC-04

OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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R 081923Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8629

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 16224

SHAPE FOR INTAF: VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE

DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FRG POSITION ON PRE-REDUCTION

STABILIZING MEASURES

REF: U.S.NATO 5356

BEGIN SUMMARY: RUTH CALLED IN EMBOFF TO INFORM

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US ON AND COMMENT CONCERNING FRG POSITION PAPER ON

MBFR PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES, TEXT OF WHICH WAS TRANSMITTED BY U.S.NATO IN THE REFTEL. RUTH SAID THE NEW GERMAN POSITION PAPER IS THE PRODUCT OF SOME THREE WEEKS OF INTENSIVE INTERMINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS IN BONN. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE U.S. MAY HAVE SOME DIFFICULTIES WITH MODIFIED PRE-REDUCTION MEASURE III AND WITH THE U.K. MORATORIUM IDEA, AND INDICATED THAT THE FRG WAS PREPARED TO BE QUITE FLEXIBLE IN THE NATURE OF THESE PROPOSALS. RUTH'S POINTS OF EMPHASIS ARE REPORTED BELOW. END SUMMARY

1. DURING CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, RUTH PROVIDED US WITH TEXT OF NEW FRG POSITION PAPER ON MBFR PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES, SAYING FONOFF HAD INSTRUCTED FRG NATO DEL TO CIRCULATE IT PROMPTLY FOR EARLY ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION. WHILE RUTH SAID POSITION PAPER WAS THE PRODUCT OF INTENSIVE INTERMINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS IN BONN DURING THE LAST THREE WEEKS, HE EMPHASIZED THAT FRG WAS PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE IN PURSUING OBJECTIVES HIGH LIGHTED IN THE PAPER.

2. TURNING TO THE SPECIFIC MEASURES, RUTH MADE CLEAR THAT THE GERMANS WERE SEEKING TO FIND OTHER PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES TO SUPPLEMENT MEASURE I, WHICH SEEMED TO HAVE WIDE SUPPORT WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. AS EXPLAINED IN THE GERMAN PAPER, THE GERMANS BELIEVE IT WOULD BE BEST TO HOLD BACK ON INTRODUCING THE TWO CBM TYPE PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS ON MANEUVERS IN VIENNA AS MBFR PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES, UNTIL A DECISION IS MADE IN GENEVA ON THE TWO CBM'S. AS WE REPORTED IN BONN 16081, THE GERMANS FEAR THAT INTRODUCTION OF THE TWO CBM TYPE PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS IN VIENNA COULD LEAD THE SOVIETS TO FLATLY OPPOSE ANY MILITARY SECURITY CONTENT IN CSCE THEREBY OPENING THE DOOR WIDER TO AGGRIEVED NEUTRALS ADVANCING THEIR PET CSCE DISARMAMENT SCHEMES. FOR THESE REASONS, RUTH AGAIN SOLICITED STRONG U.S. SUPPORT ON THE TWO CBM'S IN GENEVA, URGED THAT THESE TWO PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES ON MANEUVERS BE HELD BACK IN VIENNA FOR THE TIME BEING BUT SAID THE ALLIES COULD CONSIDER INTRODUCING THEM IN

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VIENNA AFTER A POSITIVE GENEVA DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN. IN THIS SITUATION, THE TWO MANEUVER MEASURES COULD END UP IN VIENNA AS EITHER PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES NEGOTIATED PARALLEL TO NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS, OR, AS MBFR COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS.

3. RUTH DESCRIBED MODIFIED MEASURE III (PARA 10-REFTEL)

AS A KIND OF "SIZE OF MANEUVERS MORATORIUM," WHICH WOULD APPLY FOR THE DURATION OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AND WITH THE IMPORTANT QUALIFICATIONS INDICATED IN THE FRG PAPER. HE NOTED THAT REFERENCE TO "LOCATIONS" HAD BEEN DROPPED FROM MEASURE III AS THIS CAUSED THE GREATEST DIFFICULTIES FOR THE FRG. IN ITS MODIFIED FORM, RUTH THOUGHT MEASURE III COULD BE A USEFUL ADDITION TO MEASURE I AND HOPED THE U.S. COULD ACCORD IT SUPPORT. HE ADDED THE WISH THAT THIS MEASURE MIGHT ALSO BE APPLIED TO HUNGARY, BUT MADE CLEAR THAT BONN WOULD NOT LIVE OR DIE ON THAT QUESTION.

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4. AS TO THE U.K. MORATORIUM IDEA (SECTION IV OF FRG PAPER), RUTH ACKNOWLEDGED POSSIBLE U.S. OBJECTION THAT MORATORIUM REPRESENTS DE FACTO FLA. HE ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT GERMAN WISH TO APPLY THIS MEASURE TO HUNGARY, IN THE CONTEXT OF PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES, COULD INJECT DISPUTE OVER AREA INTO EARLY STAGE OF NEGOTIATION AND POSSIBLY PRODUCE DEADLOCK. EMBOFF HAD THE IMPRESSION FROM RUTH'S REMARKS THAT FRG WOULD BE PREPARED TO GIVE WAY ON HUNGARIAN ISSUE IN PRE-REDUCTION CONTEXT BUT WOULD WANT TO COME BACK TO IT LATER IN
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TERMS OF EVENTUAL NON-CIRCUMVENTION AGREEMENT LIMITING FORCE LEVELS AND AFFECTING HUNGARY.

5. TO EMBOFF'S QUESTION, RUTH MADE CLEAR THAT FRG WOULD BE VERY FLEXIBLE IN SHAPING EITHER MODIFIED MEASURE III OR THE MORATORIUM TYPE MEASURE. A MAJOR POINT OF EMPHASIS BY RUTH WAS THAT PRE-REDUCTION MORATORIUM AGREEMENT, INFORMALLY ARRIVED AT, WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE PUBLIC TO DETER SOVIETS FROM CIRCUMVENTION ACTIONS DURING NEGOTIATIONS. DURING DISCUSSION, RUTH SAID HE COULD IMAGINE INFORMALLY ARRIVED AT AGREEMENT ON MORATORIUM BEING APPROVED DURING PLENARY SESSIONS AND SUBSEQUENTLY PUBLISHED IN APPROPRIATE FASHION.

6. RUTH SAID HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO HAVE U.S. VIEWS ON THE GERMAN PAPER, PARTICULARLY MODIFIED MEASURE III AND THE MORATORIUM PROPOSAL SO THAT U.S. AND FRG COULD PROCEED ON COMMON BASIS. COMMENT. WE BELIEVE RUTH IS UNDER NO ILLUSIONS AS TO POSSIBLE U.S. REACTIONS ON EITHER OF THESE TWO MEASURES. GERMANS HAVE OBVIOUSLY BEEN SEEKING IN THE LAST WEEKS, SINCE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON THE STATIONED/INDIGENOUS FORCES AND COMMON CEILING ISSUES, TO FIND SOME OTHER ACCEPTABLE PRE-REDUCTION MEASURE TO ADD TO AGREED MEASURE I.
END COMMENT.

7. RUTH TOLD EMBOFF THAT FONOFF AND DEFMIN MBFR EXPERTS ARE NOW TURNING THEIR ATTENTION TO COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS. HE SAID THE FRG HOPES THE ALLIANCE CAN REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS TOPIC BEFORE CHRISTMAS.
HILLENBRAND

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